

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS NIACT IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS//TOSEC 472

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PFOR, CY, TU

SUBJECT: CYPRUS-TURKISH AID -- BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR
SECRETARY'S BRIEFING OF CABINET AND CONGRESSIONAL GROUP

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM LOWENSTEIN, ACTING

THE PROBLEM:

YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO BRIEF CONGRESSIONAL GROUP FEBURARY 19
AND THE CABINET FEBRUARY 21 ON WHERE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM
PRESENTLY STANDS AND ON THE NEED FOR CONGRESS TO RESCIND
THE SUSPENSION ON U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY.

BACKGROUND:

THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS ARE IN LIMBO, AS MAKARIOS TRIES
TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE CYPRUS ISSUE BY TAKING IT TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE WAKE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ANNOUNCE-
MENT LAST WEEK OF THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE
ADMINISTRATION FOR THE "TURKISH WING OF THE FEDERATED STATE
OF CYPRUS." ATHENS' SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS'
DECISION TO TAKE THE ISSUE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS

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LUKEWARM. THE TURKS ARE AGAINST BOTH AN INTERNATIONAL

CONFERENCE AND A VISITING UN DELEGATION, AS ARE WE, ON THE GROUNDS THAT EITHER WOULD ENTAIL UNDESIRABLE SOVIET BLOC INVOLVEMENT AND RETARD PROGRESS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. WHILE

PROSPECTS FOR REINVIGORATING THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS DO NOT PRESENTLY SEEM BRIGHT, IT REMAINS OUR VIEW THAT THIS OR SOME SIMILAR FORUM (PERHAPS ULTIMATELY INVOLVING GREECE AND TURKEY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTLY) CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST PROMISING WAY TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS ISSUE. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF CYPRUS, GREECE AND TURKEY THAT THERE BE AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

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PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS HINGE IMPORTANTLY ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE U.S. CAN INFLUENCE TURKEY TO MAKE MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS. WHILE THE RESUMPTION OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY WOULD TEMPORARILY EXACERBATE U.S. RELATIONS WITH GREECE, AND WOULD CREATE SECURITY AND OTHER PROBLEMS FOR THE U.S. EMBASSY IN CYPRUS, THE U.S. WILL HAVE NO INFLUENCE WHATEVER TO USE WITH THE TURKS UNLESS AID IS EXPEDITIOUSLY RESTORED.

TALKING POINTS:

-- AS A RESULT OF OUR EFFORTS IN BRUSSELS AND ELSEWHERE IN DECEMBER, SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ON A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT FINALLY GOT UNDER WAY WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS ON JANUARY 14.

-- ALL PARTIES GAVE US DIRECT ASSURANCES OF THEIR DESIRE TO MAKE RAPID PROGRESS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS FROM TURKEY WHO HAD WORKED ON THE 1960 CONSTITUTION WERE BROUGHT IN TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS AND THE PACE OF THE TALKS WAS ACCELERATED TO TWO MEETINGS A WEEK, WITH A THIRD MEETING DEVOTED TO HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. IN ADDITION THERE WAS A MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE AIRPORT MIGHT BE REOPENED. THERE WAS, THEREFORE, SOME GROUND TO HOPE SOME PRACTICAL PROGRESS COULD BE MADE EARLY ON IN THE TALKS.

-- WHEN THE TALKS ACTUALLY BEGAN, HOWEVER, BOTH SIDES BEGAN TO INJECT QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE INTO THE TALKS, EVEN ON RELATIVELY TECHNICAL QUESTIONS SUCH AS THE REOPENING OF THE AIRPORT. THUS THE TURKS WERE INSISTING ON SOME FORM
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OF GUARANTOR ARRANGEMENT FOR THE AIRPORT OPERATION AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE AIRPORT OPERATION AND THE GREEKS WERE INSISTING ON UN OVERSIGHT AND PREDOMINANTLY GREEK CONTROL OF AIRPORT OPERATIONS.

-- DURING THIS PERIOD WE STRESSED TO ALL PARTIES THE NEED FOR EARLY PROGRESS AND FLEXIBILITY. IN PARTICULAR WE EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR TURKEY TO TAKE

STEPS URGENTLY TOWARD THE RETURN OF SOME REFUGEES, THE
REOPENING OF FAMAGUSTA PORT, AND THE REOPENING OF THE
AIRPORT.

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-- WE WERE PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL IN THESE EFFORTS. THE
TURKS OFFERED TO ALLOW SEVERAL THOUSAND (5,000) GREEKS TO
RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND EMPHASIZED THAT THIS WOULD BE
A FIRST STEP TOWARD MORE SUBSTANTIAL REFUGEE RETURNS.
THEY ALSO OFFERED THE USE OF FAMAGUSTA PORT, RAISED THE
IDEA OF HAVING AN INDEPENDENT AIRPORT EXPERT SUPERVISE
AIRPORT OPERATIONS, AND ANNOUNCED THE WITHDRAWAL OF
1000 TROOPS FROM CYPRUS, AGAIN AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD A
FURTHER REDUCTION.

-- THE GREEKS, WITH THEIR EYE CLEARLY FIXED ON THE
FEBRUARY 5 DATE FOR THE CUTOFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY,
CHOSE TO REJECT THESE TURKISH OFFERS AS UNIMPORTANT AND
UNACCEPTABLY SMALL RATHER THAN AS FIRST STEPS WHICH COULD
HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO AN IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

-- IN EARLY FEBRUARY MAKARIOS ANNOUNCED THAT NO
PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE, QUESTIONED THE USEFULNESS OF THE***#S*

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